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ABSTRACT

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Entrepreneurial Achievement or Social Action ? - Differing Rationales of Adult Education Programs for Value and Attitude Change

by

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Precis

Three socio-psychological programs are highlighted here : "cultural literacy", achievement motivation, and group dynamics. The introduction reviews their common aim : to provoke significant, abrupt changes in adults, i.e. changes that affect the value and attitudinal orientations of the individual in a short period of time. The objectives and techniques of these programs are surveyed in the first section. Then brief definitions of development, growth and change are put forward and certain subtleties analyzed between total and partial change. The final section relates the realities of educational policy to the political objectives sought by these programs.

Introduction

Man's values and attitudes determine his behavior. This contention is neither new nor exceptional, but it underlines the fact that behavior change succeeds psychological shifts in values and attitudes. Of course, behavior may be imposed by environmental conditions, brainwashing, hypnosis and chemicals, but this reality falls outside the range of this discussion which, in sum, is concerned with education and its importance for social change.

Adult education, whether in-school or out-of-school programs, generally aims to alter value orientation and attitudinal responses although its aims may be defined in terms of the behavioral changes desired by the program. This is true too in the case of psychoanalytical and psychotherapeutic programs. While the final objective may be to catalyze a particular set of actions, or behaviors, the program necessarily involves a process which seeks to alter previous values and attitudes. What is noteworthy about this contention is not its truth but the way this truth is interpreted methodologically and politically by those having firm values and fixed ideas about what is desirable and proper social behavior.

In our discussion of the transformation process which leads to behavioral change, a distinction is made between life-cycle change, gradual change and critical change, with emphasis on the latter. In brief, life-cycle

change refers to chronological (age-stage) shifts in the mentality of the individual, due either to his developmental progress or age crises. Gradual change comes with the accumulation of experience, personal knowledge and skills over time. Critical change means significant, abrupt alterations of outlook and behavior due to "critical events" (cultural transitions, social conflicts, or familial crises) or heightened consciousness. Although these definitions are somewhat arbitrary, they help to distinguish between changes that occur as a result of age, those that take place with experience and knowledge over time, and those that are catalyzed by events that heighten awareness.

The last type of change, critical in nature, involves what some sociologists call "re-sociolization". We prefer the term critical change because it suggests an internal as well as an external process whereby the individual integrates, not merely assumes, new (or rediscovered) values and attitudes. This distinction we believe is valid since a "re-socialization" suggests a re-adapting to social needs or pressures. Critical change, on the other hand, connotes a "qualitative leap" or "rebirth" on the part of the individual dependent upon heightened consciousness and a transformation of the individual vis-à-vis his existence. It is not an adaptation to a changed environment but a transformation of self involving a consequent change in actions with, or within, the environment. Re-socialization, in our view, suggests re-orientation of the individual whereas critical change recognizes the potentiality of the individual to re-direct himself when confronted with an alternative view of reality. We insist upon this distinction because it implies the right to free choice and denies a deterministic concept of life.

Critical change is used here to mean adult change which is significant in maghitude and abrupt in occurrence, taking place from within a few days to a few months. The varieties of religious experience that provoke critical change have been described by numerous authors - so have those of political enlightenment. These types of value discoveries are exactly what we are talking about when we discuss value change. They involve major shifts in life direction ; they entail the adoption of new concepts of what life means. Attitudinal change differs in that it is not our values that are altered but only our ways of responding to values. We may be perfectly satisfied with our direction in life but lack awareness of how our ways of acting affect our progress toward the goals intrinsic to our direction. As our position or feeling changes with regard to a value, so this value becomes more intensified and meaningful for us.

What is novel about critical change is not that it happens in adults but that it can be induced. Adults can be provoked - some of them - at least - to review and revitalize their values, or their attitudes, to the extent that measurable changes occur in their behavior. Furthermore, these changes can be brought about in relatively short periods, from a few days to a few months. Such critical change implies significant differences between former and current modes of personal action. The individual becomes committed to a new way of life. He takes on a new political, professional, social, or religious stance. Or, he becomes committed to new ways of acting toward his life orientation. He becomes more appreciative, integrated and motivated.

Two educational programs are reviewed here which catalyze significant, abrupt changes in adults - one which affects the individual's value structure

and the other which influences his attitudinal hierarchy. The two programs, though comparable in certain respects, differ radically from one another in their perception of reality and the purpose for which they conceive individual change to be prescribed. The vision that guides itinerant Brazilian educator Paolo Freire is "cultural literacy" : the development of a society founded upon political participation and class equality. The society he advocates is Marxist in structure and Christian in its ethics. By contrast, American psychologists David C. McClelland and David G. Winter, in their "achievement motivation" programs perceive social evil as originating not in capitalistic exploitation but rather from a deficiency in the quantity and quality of capable entrepreneurs and a consequent under-utilization of resources, both physical and human. Development demands in their eyes the creation of an entrepreneurial class to serve in the vanguard of socio-economic change.

The "cultural literacy" programs of Paolo Freire are not per se going to turn the world into a Marxist-Christian universe. Nor are the achievement-motivation programs associated with psychologists McClelland and Winter going to make the world measurably more "positivistic" and capitalistic than it already is. Nevertheless, these and other contemporary efforts to bring about significant and abrupt changes in adults signal a notable trend in the field of education.

Although numerous adult programs seek to change the conceptual and behavioral patterns of the individual, they usually employ cognitive or psychomotor techniques. Graduate study, military training, technical assistance are examples of programs that use intellectual or manual training to alter the individual's values, attitudes and behavior. These programs usually require relatively long periods of time to attain their objectives. So-called "affective" or "socio-psychological" techniques are secondary to their general thrust and emphasis. On the other hand, programs for cultural literacy, achievement motivation, as well as group dynamics and certain psychotherapeutic programs, depend on value and attitudinal approaches for their success. The proof of their efficacy can be seen in the significant and seemingly "overnight" changes that they catalyze among certain adults.

Religious experiences, political enlightenment, critical events, life changes - a wide range of provocative experiences may spark a sudden and major shift in value concepts. Scientific and biographical literature abounds with accounts of conversions, rebirths, revelations and other remarkable experiences that lead to revised ways of seeing and acting. In all cases the individual's concept of self and of social arrangements is modified to a considerable extent. Although we may only observe these modifications by way of their behavioral expressions, it is clear that startling mind-shifts take place in the individual during critical change.

The increase of programs aimed at catalyzing adult change in brief frames of time is an important trend. These programs are particularly interesting since their diversity of distinct objectives and techniques when examined as a whole tells us much about the underlying psychology and politics that motivates adult education today. In their efforts to clarify and reinforce certain values they inevitably ally themselves with differing philosophies of man and distinct concepts of society. The "new man" of achievement-motivation programs, for example, is economically rational, a "go-getter", whereas for cultural literacy he is critically conscious and an agent for social action.

These differing socio-psychological programs force us to confront certain specific, though broad, questions. For instance : what do we mean by an adult - somebody whose personality and mind are fixed, or flexible ? Is the function of education to transfer and serve the value norms of the dominant culture or social group ? To what extent should political awareness and social action be objectives of adult education programs ? Does the concept of life-long education risk operationalizing into a governmental tool primarily for work-oriented, "functional" education ? What are the values of those who decide that others should preferably change values ? Are these changers a new breed of adult educator ?

Incentive and achievement-motivation training courses are proliferating, particularly in the industrialized and industrializing countries. Cultural literacy has already been espoused as national educational policy in Chile. Organizational development programs for promoting group dynamics among corporate teams already exist in many countries. Psychotherapeutic programs - as mental illness becomes one of the major problems in the world today - are spreading at a phenomenal rate. Certainly interest in these programs in on the rise and with good reason. Participants who go through a cultural literacy program often emerge with a new sense of identity and cultural awareness. Motivation programs tend to dynamize entrepreneurs and professionals and increase their risk-taking capacity. Individuals who have engaged in encounter and organizational-development groups frequently attest to the integrative and maturing experiences they have realized. Psychotherapy teaches new ways of relating to self and others. In all of these programs critical experiences occur which affect either self-adjustment, or group integration, or work incentive, or social consciousness.

I

Examples of Socio-psychological programs

Cultural literacy, as conceptualized and practised by Paolo Freire, puts politics and cultural identity in the forefront of literacy programs. The aim of his program is to "liberate" the peasant or factory worker from social oppressiveness by showing the vital importance of his taking action in his capacity as a transformative agent, especially in those countries where the worker is treated as an inferior. His purpose is to create a cultural and critical awareness which leads to social organization and political action. One author describes this cultural conscientização as : "A change of mentality involving an accurate, realistic awareness of one locus in nature and society ; the capacity to analyze critically its causes and consequences, comparing it with other situations and possibilities ; and action of a logical sort aimed at transformation. Psychologically it entails an awareness of one's dignity..."(1) This author claims that such a "change of mentality" has an almost inevitable

consequence which is "political participation and the formation of interest groups such as community organizations and labour unions". (2)

Social organization and the drive to read and write for purposes of higher social consciousness are the main behavioristic outcomes that cultural literacy programs seek to accomplish. As such, these are major attainments for the individual as well as for society, although many land owners, factory tycoons and local and national politicians often feel threatened by their realization. In Chile, however, cultural literacy has been adopted by the governments of both Presidents Frei and Allende and during the latter's administration a nationwide program (using an adaptation of Freire's methods) was institutionalized to eliminate illiteracy in urban and rural areas.

Freire employs a varying set of "key words" - incorporating approximately twenty words commonly used by the client population and having specific social and political meanings - as a departure point for teaching the individual to read, write, and become more conscious of his social status and environment. These words serve as a springboard to engage the participant in dialectical "authentic dialogue" aimed at pointing up the denotative meaning of words he is naming. Like philosophical linguist Noam Chomsky, Freire is concerned with the deep meaning of language. His concept of man in the world and "with the world" emphasizes the human being's transformative rather than his adaptive role in nature. It is not the functional maintenance of society that must be sought : to humanize mankind, the ultimate function of education and training must be to foster conscientização and "cultural revolution". All other educational concerns are ancillary to this major purpose.

The widely known achievement-motivation programs of Harvard and Wesleyan psychologists McClelland and Winter have been essayed with success in various countries and a company with which McClelland is associated has undertaken consultant assignments for the United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO). These programs seek to increase the need for achievement in entrepreneurs and professional people, thereby elevating this drive in their hierarchy of motives. McClelland and Winter claim that achievement need is a powerful motive that can be catalyzed, stimulated and even "acquired". Changing the individual, they maintain, is not so difficult, time-consuming or costly as one might imagine. Their study suggests that the costs of promoting achievement motivation are not significant in comparison with the economic effects produced. By accelerating achievement motive in businessmen, they claim to positively influence the economic sector.

Abrupt motivational change is not only possible, they believe, it is a moral and practical necessity. Need for achievement, they state, is not a Western, contemporary or white innovation but intrinsic to various cultures, historical and present. Numerous studies have shown virtually no relationship between need for achievement and expressed beliefs and values.

During a three-year project in India, undertaken with the financial assistance of the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), and the collaboration of the Indian Small Industries Extension Training Institute (SIET) in Hyderabad, McClelland and Winter gained evidence to show that the effects of motivation training were not only immediate but long-run. After a two-year period it was ascertained that course participants remained more active, attempted and started more new business ventures and mobilized increased amounts

of capital and labor. The course participants also tended to have relatively larger increases (as compared with a control group) in gross income over the period studied, 1964-66.

Usually lasting from seven to ten but sometimes as little as two or as many as 21 consecutive days, the training course is administered preferably in an isolated center. Its aim essentially is to get the individual to shift emphasis from the goal he has internalized to the practical steps necessary to achieve the goal. Although effective with only some participants, the course is generally successful in its endeavor to catalize significant, abrupt adult change in work attitudes and motivation.

A widely diversified range of group dynamics programs exist. So-called "Laboratory Education" (which includes organizational development, encounter, sensitivity and T-group programs) aims to promote group integration and cooperation and the process of reaching this objective often embraces crucial experiences for the individual. As noted in a recent Unesco document, T-group techniques tend to promote "change in the perception of oneself and others and a change in attitudes, thereby modifying, through the group, behaviour which occurs in various social situations." (3) Whether for corporate or other group purposes (military, professional, school, university), group dynamics frequently has an impact both maturational for the individual and beneficial to the group as a whole.

Systematic thinking about group dynamics, originally developed by Gestelt psychologist Kurt Lewin, issued from his quest to discover how people can be stimulated "to behave better" as members in and out of a group. Similarly to Freire, McClelland, Winter and others, the current advocates of organizational development believe that the individual is changeable and that his potential to change depends on the proper situation and catalytic inputs. As Lewin knew, personality structures, at least in some individuals, are temporary and the right environment and stimulus can alter them. In aquiring new perceptions of himself and of the environment, the individual learns new interrelational habits which sometimes cause major and abrupt changes in his personality and attitudinal structures.

Cultural-literacy, achievement-motivation and group-dynamics programs represent remarkable means for educating adults to function better or more critically in the transformation of society. Important for policy-makers and educators, these programs point to the need for closer consideration of : a) the critical change potential of the individual, b) the role of stress and tension in provoking critical change of the purposive kinds mentioned here, and c) the meaning of critical change for educational theory and practice.

At this point, we turn to a discussion of the distinct definitions of development, growth and change and analyze certain subtleties of difference between total and partial change regarding values and attitudes.

II

Critical Change and Adult Development

In systems theory and developmental psychology, the growth of an organism (human or institutional) indicates an expansion : the addition or enlargement of parts. Growth is an adding on, the "formation of new units". (4) Development, on the other hand, involves the increasing complexity of the organism (or system) as it integrates and coordinates growth into a heterogeneity that functions as a whole. In short, the integration and organization of the perceptual, intellectual, social and emotional growth of the individual at different stages in his life is development. Ultimately, this capability to expand and increase complexity is what makes man more than just another primate.

Change, as a concept, is a generic catch-all. It refers to any process or outcome whereby a human or institutional organisme, or society as a whole, becomes different (for better or for worse) from what it was at an earlier time. Change, by this broad definition, is not merely a potential but inevitable. Society, institutions and individuals are always in the process of change ; if only chronologically, they experience the effects that come with growth and decay. Over time, perspective alters. Cognitive and affective differences, as well as those in the organizational and motivational hierarchies, occur and affect the individual's value system in one way or another. Sometimes instead of growth and development there is deterioration, even pathology.

Adult psychology often only considers the clinical aspects and pathological outcomes of what is here referred to as critical change. This, we believe, is regrettable since critical change frequently involves positive, purposeful transformations, as this article underscores.

Partial and total change

The management executive who becomes efficient and discriminating with regard to his work because of a critical experience gained through an achievement-motivation program has undergone an important re-focussing of his life within the framework of his stated occupational goal. The ideal image of himself has not changed so much as his drive mechanisms related to this image. Such partial, but significant, change is the kind that people refer to when they say : "Oh, that was when I had my head in the clouds", or "That was before I had any sense of responsibility".

The maturity experience of the corporate worker or encounter participant also appears to be partial but differs slightly in that it is expressed in distinct terms by the person involved. "Oh, that was before I learned to work as part of a team", or "That was before I knew how to relate to others". Whether he sees himself as a member of a corporate team, military unit, or encounter group, the individual who comes to comprehend more clearly his role, his responsibility and his importance as an active agent in the group has

certainly matured with respect to that group (if he accepts basically its tasks and objectives) and that maturity may well affect all his other relationships.

The peasant who, once liberated, gets organized with his fellow farmers to demand better conditions, securities and pay from his patron represents a person who has undergone a major mind-shift involving what Erik Erikson calls an "identity recovery". (5) It is as though he receives his first pair of glasses after having blurred vision all his life. Those "new eyes" make the difference between a state of passivity and one of activity vis-à-vis the world. He becomes aware of cultural, class and other social realities. He realizes that he must take action by way of collective force if he is to transform these social realities. His change in many ways seems total.

Ideological shifts, political as well as religious, loom as the most widely-documented types of total critical change experience. Sociologists refer to this type of change as total resocialization, or "alternation", meaning that the individual has experienced the "reconstruction of reality de novo". (6) Relinquishing what these investigators call the "quest for consistency", the individual alternates onto a different track - and after all, this is not so unusual since there is always a socio-structural base for competition between rival definitions of reality. The fact of these rival definitions of reality is what makes a liberation experience or a recovery of identity possible.

Adult critical change, whether total or partial, constitutes an amazing and profound event in the individual's life. Aside from the behavioral evidence of this event, we can intuit the experience by the individual's references to his past. "Oh, that was before I became a Marxist", he may say, or "That was when I was neurotic", or "That was before I knew what I wanted to do in life". He often refers to his past as being blind or confused - sometimes not even worth talking about.

The mind and personality are subjects that go beyond the individual processes into the processes of social change. While education may not be the most dramatic, or immediate, cause of social change, it certainly is historically a major factor in man's evolution. But even in the short run, education may well be catalytic to the individual and influential on the environment, as we have seen in our brief survey of certain change programs. In order to review education as a factor for social change, however, we must look carefully at "which" social change we mean. To do so, we must examine the socio-political assumptions and objectives of the programs under review.

III

Adult Change for Entrepreneurial Achievement or Social Action

In a recent Unesco publication, McClelland stated that his use of the word "entrepreneur" should not be taken in the sense of "capitalist" and added : "in fact, I should like to divorce 'entrepreneur' entirely from any connotations of ownership. An entrepreneur is somebody who exercised control over production that is not just for his personal consumption. For example, an executive in a steel-production unit in the U.S.S.R. is an entrepreneur." (7)

McClelland thus attempts to separate an internal need that exists among all peoples from the social relationships and attitudes that accompany the realization of this need. So scientists claim neutrality in a world that revolves around differences of social class and political philosophy. By this neutrality, McClelland hopes that his techniques will be employed by all interested, no matter what cause they espouse. His commitment is to a world which functions better economically because its entrepreneurs have learned greater self-confidence and a more realistic risk-taking psychology. In brief, he is a positivistic social reformer whose science has led him to advocate "psychological training for economic development" and not to occupy himself overmuch with ideological differences.

Freire's approach is Christian-Marxist, as he underlines in his first major work, Pedagogy of the Oppressed. He believes in the values of class consciousness and cultural solidarity - the active organization of factory workers and of landless farmers. The "cultural revolution" of the People's Republic of China represents for him one of the cataclysmic events of the 20th century. He believes that it provided an "interstructure" between the people and the infrastructures of their institutions, thus ensuring that the superstructure of the country reflect the will of the people they are meant to serve. For Freire, in fact, the most educative act an individual can experience is that of involvement in either revolution or cultural revolution.

Group-dynamics programs usually sidestep any question of political ideals. Positivistic, certainly as far as organizational development programs are concerned, its techniques work as effectively for guerilla warfare groups as for corporate entities. Advocates of T-group techniques often take the position of scientific and cultural neutrality. They try to avoid any political associations although, for the most part, their efforts are directed toward improving the individual's behavior within a dominant culture group task. Like many other educators, they would prefer to ignore all issues of political allegiance, spoken or unspoken.

In the marketplace of political ideas, group dynamics like achievement-motivation programs claim to utilize techniques that will work in any culture and in any value framework. True though this may be, it is only a half-truth which plays down the importance of man's critical nature in favor of his cooperative capacities. It is not enough that education be effective : it must address the whole being, otherwise man continues to exist as a fragment of himself. The thrust of Freire's programs is also limited in this respect,

but as least his objectives are related to social realities and not merely to group cooperation, and those objectives vary in accordance with reality. What is pro-government in one country will be anti-government in another.

All education explicitly or implicitly is political. The importance of Freire, Illich and other educational critics is that they insist on the socio-political reality of education. Education, they say, should be aimed at getting men to see their role in life as transformative so that they may break out of their various states of oppression. In this we believe they are correct, especially in our increasingly "abstract society".

Politics is one of man's most important instruments for effecting the direction of the society he lives in and thereby the world at large. Today, there seems to be a renewal of the need for political expression. Efforts have started to promote "self-renewal" on a political basis, especially as a means to awaken the middle class to corruption within its governments. Also, manual and rural workers and oppressed minorities, as well as sympathetic intellectuals, are striving to bring about social revolution. In contrast, the so-called "counter culture" appears willing to work with any political structure that leaves it in peace.

Although we can appreciate the scientist's commitment to a world in which science and social knowledge would ideally be used to facilitate the development of all men, we find the argument of neutrality unsatisfactory. The problem, we believe, is that scientists are too busy with social inventions and control of the masses to give the necessary energy to socio-political criticism. Hence, they lack the political drive to control the scientific knowledge they disseminate to the powers that be. Often their discoveries only aid in the advance of governments dedicated to oppression and totalitarian social control. Political interest, to many scientists, is a secondary concern. They are dedicated mainly to understand how things and people work and how to categorize, predict and control their relationships and behavior... presumably for the good of society. The fact that their discoveries are often applied to manipulate man as a mere means to technological ends they see as unaviodable. Accordingly, they often become uncritical proponents of trends which they consider inevitable. Thus, many teach and do research within their systems without further concern for the socio-political realities that surround them. This, of course, is an exaggeration but makes a point which we believe needs repeating.

Certainly when we seek to change an individual or group we must be clear not only about our objectives but how they relate to larger value constraints. Technical and psychological professionals claim to be simply working for economic development and social change but they are seldom willing to discuss either outside of specific frameworks which they can statistically define in so-called practical terms. Their culturally limited, value-laden, positivistic approach speaks, in our view, only to one aspect of man and strives for a world of more systematic technologies and greater production as an answer to contemporary confusion and social injustice.

Whereas group dynamics and achievement motivation operate to alter attitudes within value systems, cultural literacy works to shift value orientation. This distinction is essential to our understanding of their differing psychological objectives and also gives a clue as to why Freire was

exiled from Brazil for his teaching activities. No government minds the people having their attitudes changed as long as it gets them to work better and cooperate more within the dominant culture. Some governments, however, very much object to their factory and rural workers being encouraged to organize for improving conditions and obtaining better pay.

IV

Conclusion

Man's values and attitudes, as we have seen from the present review, determine his behavior. His personality, we believe, lends his behavior its style. The emphasis on some examples of programs which seek to alter values and attitudes points up this fact and shows how, by stimulating certain values and attitudes, our social actions may be changed. The programs mentioned here also underscore the fact that individual development and change are not childhood experiences but continue throughout adulthood. They show too that critical experiences can occur in socio-psychological programs of education.

Despite the academic stance that socio-psychological education is primarily affective in essence, the cognitive and motivational inputs of these programs for critical adult change cannot be ignored. In fact, such programs may well serve as short-cuts to a personal clarity in life which makes intellectual and psychomotor skills more readily meaningful and desired by the individual.

With the institutionalization of socio-psychological programs, we are faced with the consideration that individual change of a critical nature is not something to be analyzed out of proportion to its reality but rather that it needs to be taken advantage of fort the sake of the individual and society. This consideration is what finally causes us to review the political implications of programs aimed at changing the mentality of people. Though perhaps too dualistic, our point has been to contrast the concepts and aims of programs aimed at achievement motivation and those seeking to promote cultural literacy. Our conclusion is that cultural literacy confronts the social reality of its participants with greater concern for the transformation of their circumstances at all levels of endeavor, whereas achievement-motivation programs seek exclusively to direct the energies of the individual toward greater economic attainments. Our position is not one of claiming a good-bad dichotomy between the programs, but rather to point up the limitations of motivation programs as compared with those of cultural literacy. We have done this by emphasizing that these programs incorporate : 1) a reasonably distinct set of techniques for catalyzing adult critical change, 2) differing cultural orientations, due in part to the distinct concepts of their advocates and the separate class populations with which the programs work, and 3) differing general concepts of man and the world, with consequent opposing political view-points. Whereas achievement-motivation programs tend to cater to all governments, Marxist-oriented cultural-literacy programs see their role as that of transforming society depending on the political attitudes of the government in question.

We posed several questions in our introduction which we feel this brief survey has not necessarily answered, but has at least isolated enough to respond to. First, we conclude that the adult is an individual whose personality and mind changes - whether due to life-cycle, gradual, or critical change - and that, further, the patterns of his mind (his values and attitudes) can be in some cases altered by critical events, social forces or, as we stress, the inputs of "socio-psychological" educational programs. Secondly, while admitting that education is to transfer and serve generally the dominant culture of a nation, this education is too narrow if it does not promote social criticism and social action within that framework. The function of criticism, in our view, is to keep society from the totalitarian nothingness that Orwell foresaw in his book, 1984. Also, there is the question of identity. An education which ignores separate cultural identities within a dominant society is likely either to enforce an identity which sits ill with the individual or which in the final analysis keeps an individual's true identity from emerging and thereby contributing to that continuous process which is the making of society. Therefore we feel that political awareness and social action are vital objectives for adult-education programs, even moreso than those of vocational and professional training. Finally, it is clear that the values of those who decide that others should preferably change values or attitudes provide the clue to the meaning and direction of their programs. In this review, we have noted a positivistic, entrepreneurial, capitalistic orientation on the part of McClelland and his associates and a Marxist, working-class, socialistic orientation by Freire. Certainly, their differing concepts of social reality encourage us to consider our own assumptions and aspirations in this regard.

There is no attempt here to analyze the major socio-political and technological forces for social change and their effect on the mentality of the individual. Our emphasis has been on education for individual change and its implications for social reality. People undergo relatively minor changes almost daily and more profound ones with age. Technological innovations, powerful others, and major social shifts certainly greatly influence man's mind. Equally dramatic in our view are those abrupt changes that the individual realizes when he attains new incentives, better personal adjustment, greater group integration or clearer class consciousness through education.

A peasant may have certain attitudes enforced so that he fits better into the dominant culture. If he is given the opportunity to rise within the ranks of social prestige, then he may well adopt the consciousness of the ruling class. On the other hand, if he wakes to a sense of his own cultural heritage and dignity, then he may well fight to improve his lot as part of a distinct culture and class. Many individuals in the so-called "lower" class, as Freire knows well live without a sense of class or culture and therefore without a full conception of personal identity.

Adult transformation is a well known reality to psychoanalysts, priests, teachers, consellors and others who deal with the mind and personality of man. In their work they note that for one reason or another people often change attitudes and/or values seemingly "overnight". Sometimes these changes occur because of a critical event (death of a spouse, divorce, imprisonment, personal injury, work severance or promotion, or marriage, birth of children, etc.), sometimes because of another's influence especially in the domain of religion or politics but also with respect to work orientation and group integration,

sometimes because of a provocative educational experience. These changes often result from familial or societal repression (oppression) of the individual, creating what is called a disposition or potential for change.

Quoting from the Thesis on Feuerbach Marxists claim that philosophers have only taught us to interpret the world, the problem is to change it. In a Freire class frequently the individual discovers a new sense of self, to the point that he recovers identity and hence begins to transform his socio-political reality. Through key-words and authentic dialogue he learns the meaning of taking specific action on the basis of concrete reality. Thus, it is not merely the status of the individual in society which matters but how the government in power conceives of and treats the individual, especially one from the manual or "blue-collar" working class.

Not all workers or peasants, of course, feel that they want revolution. Apparently, however, enough do that one writer sees the oligarchs' "great fear in Latin America" as being that time when the masses rise to government and power.

With Freire the individual's need to achieve and to work as part of a coordinated group is sharpened, as is true with McClelland and those who utilize group dynamics techniques. The major difference, as we have seen, is that Freire explicitly takes position in the major political struggles going on in the world today. His position attacks the notion of "value-free" education. So-called "value neutral" programs are acceptable to efficiency-oriented governments and international organizations dedicated primarily to economic advances, whereas cultural literacy programs are welcome only in a few countries and, at best, merely discussed at the international level. Although Freire serves on the Unesco International Consultive Liaison Committee for Literacy, his programs are far from being utilized by this Organization.

Education today cannot pretend to be politically neutral nor can efforts to change the values and attitudes of adults be considered only in their technical aspects. The adult can change, as we know, and critically so. He can learn new outlooks, attitudes and behaviors that are crucial to his development and that of society. Education which caters only to adult economic needs ignores man's transformative role as a social animal. Worse, it rejects man's potential as a rare species that has yet to realize the full creativity of its changing mind.

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